



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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March 8, 1971

MEMORANDUM

TO: L - Mr. John R. Stevenson
H - Mr. David M. Abshire
PM - Mr. Ronald I. Spiers

FROM: PM/JW - Joseph Wolf

SUBJECT: Symington Subcommittee

With the announcement on March 3 of the reconstitution of the Symington Subcommittee, and having heard that Messrs. Lowenstein and Moose would take over the Pincus/Paul staffing of functions, I telephoned Jim Lowenstein, an old acquaintance, to ask him to eat lunch and discuss things. He said that he and Moose were winding up some prior operations and had not really given much thought yet to this new work, although he would very much like to discuss things in the next week or so when they had had a chance to think about this a bit.

He said that Senator Fulbright had on his desk a series of letters to the agency heads concerned asking them to name points of contact for the Subcommittee and inquired whether I would be involved again. I said that would give us a chance to take a new look at it but for the moment I imagine I might well be.

Lowenstein will call me for lunch next week.

cc: DOD - Mr. French

WH - Mr. Lehman

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NEW YORK DAILY NEWS

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Senate Aides in Athens

Athens, Feb. 8 (Reuter)—Two special envoys of the United States Senate's Foreign Relations Committee continued wide-ranging talks here today on relations between the U.S. and Greece. The visit of the two, James Lowenstein and M. Richard Moose, was reportedly connected with the desire of the committee to establish why there had been no progress toward the restoration of constitutional rule by the military regime.

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Fulbright and Cambodia

COMMENT should be made on the strange story of Cambodia and Chairman J. William Fulbright of the Foreign Relations Committee.

Last June, two committee staff experts returned from Cambodia with a report highly critical of President Nixon's attacks on the Communist sanctuaries in that country.

Sen. Fulbright trumpeted the report to the skies and had it published as a committee document. Now the same two staff members have been to Cambodia again and have concluded that Mr. Nixon's policies are not so wrong after all.

Without U.S. aid, they say, Cambodia would be "completely taken over,"

probably halting the program of withdrawing U.S. troops from Vietnam.

They found "considerable support for the government of Gen. Lon Nol" and "an evident sense of national identity" in Cambodia's struggle against "an unprovoked invasion" by North Vietnam.

All this supports Mr. Nixon's position and undercuts the Fulbright line that the United States is the principal villain in the Cambodian woodpile. Sen. Fulbright, who is always accusing the State and Defense Departments of covering things up, did not publish the second report and quietly inserted it in the Senate record without a public reading.

Should fair play stop at the Senate doors?

Foreign Relations Panel Gets Pro-Nixon Cambodia Report

By THOMAS B. ROSS
Chicago Sun-Times Service

The staff of the dovish Senate Foreign Relations Committee has produced a new on-the-spot report that provides surprising aid and comfort to President Nixon's hawkish position on Cambodia.

The report concludes that Cambodia probably would be "completely taken over" without U.S. military assistance, thereby forcing a halt to the President's Vietnamization and troop withdrawal program.

It maintains that "there is considerable support for the government of Gen. Lon Nol" and "an evident sense of national identity" in the fight against "an unprovoked invasion."

The report is based on a two-week trip to Cambodia by two staff members, James G. Lowenstein and Richard M. Moose, who in June submitted another report highly critical of the President's decision to invade the Cambodian sanctuaries.

Unlike that report, the new study has not been published as a committee document. Instead, Sen. J. William Fulbright, D-Ark., chairman of the committee, slipped it into the Senate record without a public reading Dec. 16.

The report makes it clear that the committee was well apprised of the nature of U.S. air operations before voting, in the Cooper-Church Amendment, to set no limit on the use of U.S. air power in Cambodia.

Lowenstein, a former Foreign

Service officer, and Moose, a White House foreign policy adviser under President Lyndon B. Johnson, reported that "both Vietnamese and U.S. aircraft are providing what amounts in fact to close air support for Cambodian forces."

Following the big battle on the highway between Phnom Penh and the sea two weeks ago, several committee members expressed surprise and dismay that U.S. planes and helicopters were involved.

Sen. Frank Church, D-Idaho, charged that the administration was violating the spirit of his amendment, which barred the use of U.S. ground troops or advisers in Cambodia. He said he had been led to believe that air operations there would be limited to "air interdiction" of supply lines into South Vietnam.

Lowenstein and Moose had reported to the committee, however, that it was "common knowledge" in Cambodia that "this general description (air interdiction) covers a wide variety of combat, support and intelligence missions."

The two staff members drew a strong connection between the fate of Cambodia and the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam.

"As a practical matter," they wrote. "Vietnamization is now

tied to the survival of the Lon Nol government . . . for could Vietnamization continue if Cambodia fell under complete enemy control?"

They appear to subscribe to the administration view that the North Vietnamese are seeking to recreate a "neutral" government, dominated by friendly forces and giving them "free access to Cambodian territory" as a sanctuary for operations in South Vietnam.

"Cambodians," the report concludes, "find it difficult to understand the complicated and involved elements of the American dilemma in Southeast Asia today. Looking back at the pattern of American behavior in Asia over the past two decades, they seem mystified by the signs of American hesitancy in arming them to defend against an invading force armed by China and the Soviet Union. . . ."

"If the United States intervened in Vietnam originally and continues to maintain forces there, to enable the South Vietnamese to determine their own future without outside interference, why does the same principle not apply to Cambodia today?"

" . . . One Cambodian leader remarked to us that having 'lost face' in Vietnam, the United States now had an opportunity in Cambodia to regain its lost prestige."

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TO	NAME AND ADDRESS	DATE	INITIALS
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2			<i>[Signature]</i>
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ACTION	DIRECT REPLY	PREPARE REPLY
APPROVAL	DISPATCH	RECOMMENDATION
COMMENT	FILE	RETURN
CONCURRENCE	INFORMATION	SIGNATURE

Remarks:

I received the attached memorandum from Joseph Wolf of the State Department on 9 March.

The memorandum indicates that despite the departure of Pincus and Paul, the Symington Subcommittee will continue its activities and that the new Staff members will be Messrs. Lowenstein and Moose. It is my understanding that both of them are ex-Foreign Service Officers now serving on the Staff of the Foreign Relations Committee. I have sent a copy of this memorandum to

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FROM: NAME, ADDRESS AND PHONE NO.	DATE
EUR/EXO 	9 Mar.

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